1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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614 621 clan rather than his village in such a crisis, and this is no doubt usually the case, though I have two definite instances in which the individuals fought on the side of their adopted villages against their own clans.

166 621 609 It is interesting to note that immigrants from other clans into a village (e.g. those who for any reason become domiciled among their wife's or their mother's people) are not always readily assimilated. In one case that came to my notice a man of about thirty years, who had lived in a certain village since going there as an orphan child with his mother, fell out with his neighbours over a question of fishing rights, and was so cold-shouldered that he had to change his place of residence again.

614 It has been shown that the Orokaiva clan is usually a small unit, that it is often of comparatively recent origin, and that it often bears definitely the name of a founder and ancestor. From these facts it will be seen that its limits may hardly surpass those of kindred. There are many cases, those of scattered clans, where the kindred connexion is virtually lost sight of, but typically the clansmen may be said to be united by feelings of actual kinship. Where this is so, such feelings may be expected to prevail over any opposition from the locality spirit. However, as I have said, such a conflict seldom arises. To sum up, it may be repeated that the Orokaiva's strongest sympathies are limited to his own small clan and to his family within the clan.

Relationship Terms

601 The following is a list of the principal relationship terms. The speaker is a married man. The word for husband is *ivu*. This together with *ai* (wife), *mei* (son), and *iai* (daughter), is used in periphrasis when there are no set relationship terms, e.g. *iata-ivu*, *betere-ta-ai*, *simbo-ta-mei*.

mama father, father's brother, all males of the father's clan and generation; elders in general.

aja mother, mother's sisters, all females of the mother's clan and generation; elder women in general.

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X

THE TRIBES

Partial Blending of Tribes

THE principal tribes have been already named in Chapter I. It will be understood that the list is not entirely rigid. It could be considerably amplified by mentioning minor groups such as Hunjovarehu in the Wasida tribe, Hanishaja and Ahojega in the Sauaha tribe, and Sebaga-andere in the Yega tribe; and by dividing the Sangara into fairly distinct halves, viz. Kombu-Sangara on the east, and Ato-Pekuma on the west. The large Hunjara tribe also, of which I possess only scanty information, would no doubt admit of further subdivision.

On the other hand we may not regard the nine tribes as so many water-tight compartments. Dispersal and migration have brought about some blending, and it is not always easy to draw the line between any two of the nine. There are undoubted affinities, for instance, between the Aiga and their neighbours the Hunjovarehu (of the Wasida tribe) on the south, and also between the Aiga and the Binandele of the river Mambare on the north. So again the Binandele are closely related to the Sebaga-andere of the Yega tribe: indeed, Binandele (or Bina-andere) and Sebaga-andere sometimes lay claim to a common origin.

Chinnery and Beaver have given a very full account of the wanderings of the Binandele tribe, and of others with whom it came in contact.[1] Among the Orokaiva at large, however, the subject of tribal migration is involved in truly vertiginous confusion, and a complete account of the movements of every tribe is something more than I would attempt in this life. The work of Chinnery and Beaver gives a vivid picture of the turbulent and restless life of these people, with whom migration was, in the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing, and pursuing. As the authors say, 'The whole is a typical Papuan record of battle, murder, and sudden

[1] *Annual Report*, 1914-15, pp. 158-61.

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166 death.' All I shall attempt here is to give some further
619 details concerning the movements of the Aiga, which, since 'the whole series of (Binandele) migrations is a pressing of the Binandele north by the powerful Aiga', may be regarded as supplementing the work of Chinnery and Beaver.

Migrations of the Aiga

166 The Aiga are to be partly identified with the Evije-Tom-
173 baha or Timbariundi people, names of which there are now
619 only scattered evidences. Timbariundi would appear to be a highly contumelious nickname, for *timburi* indicates that common phenomenon among Orokaiva children, a sore between the buttocks. The Timbariundi are said to have been more than usually restless and prone to wander. They deserved the name of *sisiki popoki*, or 'vagrants', which was also applied to the miners who moved from camp to camp in this region twenty-five years ago. Their first home, as far as tradition goes back, was at Barau, in the Sauni district. Driven from here by their western neighbours, they settled in the vicinity of Aususu, and soon came into conflict with the people of Koropata. It is said that they next moved eastward to the Ahojega people, by whom they were not very cordially received, and that they then dispersed, some remaining among the Ahojega, some going to Hamara, some to the Hunjovarehu, and some back to Aususu. In the last-mentioned neighbourhood they drove out the Koropata people, and once more established themselves. There are to be seen caves in the hill-sides, difficult of access and well concealed, in which refugees of either party, Timbariundi or Koropata, would take shelter when driven from their villages.

It appears, however, that the bulk of the Timbariundi moved northward to the neighbourhood of Bogi. It was here, at a village called Anjivu, that the menfolk, seated one day in a large *ovo*, were amusing themselves by beating and rubbing the floor with coco-nut shells by way of a substitute for drums. A high wind blowing without increased the noise, and the men sang lustily a meaningless song, '*Aura bloura, daura bloura*'. During a lull, while they waited

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for a fresh gust of wind, they were shelling betel-nuts and throwing the husks at one another. Something happened to affect the hitherto pleasant temper of the party, and they took to exchanging heavier missiles, and finally, their feelings thoroughly roused, rushed outside and commenced to fight with spears. As a result of this unnecessary quarrel the remaining Timbariundi found themselves divided into two factions, and when in due course they moved northwards again, some settled on the Kumusi and others on the Opi; and, whether there be any truth in this legend or no, there is still some trace of antagonism between the Aiga on the Kumusi side and those on the Opi side.

We need not suppose that these simple traditions about the Timbariundi will adequately account for the origin of the Aiga tribe. That tribe is more likely to be of a composite origin, and the Timbariundi to form merely one of the component elements. Such evidence as there is, however, all points to the south for the former home of the Aiga.

When they reached what is their present territory they found it occupied by Binandele people, especially by a branch of them called Kiriri Gaimoda. It appears that at first the Aiga and the Kiriri Gaimoda settled together, but that when quarrels subsequently disturbed their friendship the former drove the latter 'like pigs' out of the district. Several explanations, some of them trivial (but not too trivial to be true when we remember how quick-tempered a man is the Orokaiva), account for the quarrel between Aiga and Binandele. We are told that an Aiga was overheard playing a reed pipe in solitude, and that some people called Ponadu saw in this a splendid opportunity and killed him. Subsequently a party of Aiga were guests at a Kiriri Gaimoda feast, and seeing a Ponadu man there killed him by way of revenge. This led to bad blood between hosts and guests, and after many quarrels the former were driven out. Another explanation has it that an Aiga pig trespassed upon a Kiriri Gaimoda garden and was speared (and this oft-repeated circumstance has been a fruitful cause of serious quarrels). But several times repeated I have heard the same odd explanation, viz. that the trouble arose over a pet

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166 parrot, some having it that the parrot was owned by an
173 Aiga man and killed by a Binandele boy, others that the
619 parrot was owned by a Binandele man and bitten by an Aiga dog.

It is certain, however, that a previous Binandele population were driven out by the Aiga, some of the fugitives settling on the lower Kumusi, others on the Mambare.

Subsequent quarrels among the Aiga, with constant repetition of the inter-clan fighting called *embogi*, finally led some of the Aiga to migrate northwards and rejoin the Binandele. It is said that these refugees in their anxiety to escape killed the old folk who impeded their progress and left them behind decorated with feathers but unburied. But a milder version of the same incident relates that one of the refugees taking his wife with him was so embarrassed by the clamorous grief of his *imboti*, or mother-in-law, that he silenced it by striking her dead with his club. There are now some Aiga clans represented among the Binandele, as there are also Aiga clans represented among the Hunjovarehu. And if any value can be attached to names, it would appear from cases in which they correspond that some of the clans are widely scattered among other tribes.

Legends of Origin and Dispersal of Tribes

I must confess to having no settled theory as to the movements of the tribes at large. There has evidently been a northward drift in comparatively recent times affecting the Aiga, the Binandele, and other peoples referred to by Chinnery and Beaver; but without reliable information (which I cannot supply) as to the movements of the other tribes, it is impossible to say whether this northward trend has been general.

773 Several legends (with many variations) are current as to the origin of the Orokaiva. In the south it is said that all the peoples issued from a hole in the ground or a cave situated somewhere in the Hydrographers, and that the first to emerge were the Orokaiva, who brought the taro with them, and left the yam and sweet potato for the mountaineers.